DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 454 737 FL 026 796

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TITLE Functions of Discourse Markers "Ano and Sono" in Written Dialogue.
PUB DATE 2001-03-00
NOTE 16p.; Paper presented at the Texas Foreign Language Education Conference (Austin, TX, March 23-24, 2001).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150) -- Tests/Questionnaires (160)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Applied Linguistics; *Communication (Thought Transfer); Dialogs (Language); Discourse Analysis; Foreign Countries; *Interpersonal Communication; *Japanese; Language Styles; Morphology (Languages); *Pragmatics; *Second Language Learning; Semantics
IDENTIFIERS Japan

ABSTRACT

Through examination of the discourse markers "ano" and "sono" in Japanese, this paper explores how these linguistic devices function differently in conversation. The focus of this analysis is the mental and social functions through which a speaker attempts to achieve an interpersonal rapport with a listener. In particular, the question addresses why the speaker cannot use these discourse markers interchangeably in the context. The data reveal how the speaker distinguishes one discourse marker from another, depending on where the focus of the utterance is located. Results show that discourse markers are used as a cataphoric marker or an anaphoric marker. Each marker plays a role in focusing on the particular utterance that may be important to the listener. It is concluded that these discourse markers play an important role in conversation where the speaker and the listener meet certain social expectations in Japanese. Because it is difficult for many second language learners of Japanese to use discourse markers appropriately, it might be helpful for them to better understand the correct usage of discourse markers in order to communicate successfully with native speakers of Japanese. (Contains 16 references.) (KFT)

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ED 454 737

FUNCTIONS OF DISCOURSE MARKERS *ANO* AND *SONO* IN WRITTEN DIALOGUE

Presented at the Texas Foreign Language Education Conference, March 23-24, 2001, Austin, Texas

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ABSTRACT

Through an examination of the discourse markers *ano* and *sono* in Japanese, this paper explores how these linguistic devices function in conversation found in Japanese writings. The focus of this analysis is the mental and social functions through which a speaker attempts to achieve an interpersonal rapport with a listener. In particular, the question addresses why the speaker cannot use these discourse markers interchangeably in the context. The data reveal how the speaker distinguishes one discourse marker from another, depending on where the focus of the utterance is located. Results show that discourse markers are used as a cataphoric marker or an anaphoric marker. Each marker plays a role of focusing on the particular utterance that may be important to the listener.

1. INTRODUCTION

In studies of Japanese discourse, many researchers have focused on functions of sentence final particles (e.g. Cook, 1992; Ohta, 1991; Maynard, 1989) and speech fillers (e.g. Cook, 1993; Koide, 1983; Maynard, 1989; Sadanobu and Takubo, 1995). In each study, these discourse markers have played an important role in softening utterances and establishing an interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the listener. In the view of these researchers, discourse markers in Japanese allow speakers to express their thoughts and feelings without saying as many words. For example, examinations of the discourse marker *ano* have documented the way in which *ano* indicates the alignment between the speaker and the listener in face-to-face interaction (Cook, 1993), and speakers extract linguistic information from their stored knowledge after using *ano* (Sadanobu and Takubo, 1995). These studies may suggest that the discourse marker allows interlocutors to communicate interpersonally.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the use of particular discourse markers, which are both commonly characterized as demonstrative adjectives, but which the speaker cannot use interchangeably in the context. The paper discusses discourse markers *ano* and *sono* and examines how these discourse markers function differently in conversation. In this paper, I propose that these discourse markers occur as fillers in a context where the speaker has following utterances. Although sentence final particles are part of discourse markers in Japanese, I exclude this since my focus in this paper is to look at *ano* and *sono*, which can stand alone.

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2. BACKGROUND
2.1 DISCOURSE MARKERS IN ENGLISH

Discourse markers are characterized as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin, 1987, p.31). In other words, they function to refer to the utterance that occurs beforehand or afterward. They have syntactic variations in English conversation; *oh, well, and, but, or, so, because, like, now*, and *then* are classified as words. On the other hand, discourse markers such as *I mean, let me think,* and *y'know* are classified as clauses, although an object is required for the clause *I mean* that is equivalent to *sono* in Japanese. Each discourse marker functions in a different way and occurs in various positions of the utterance. A discourse marker appears in the initial, final or middle position in the utterance. Goffman (1974) emphasizes that the discourse marker in the initial position of the utterance has more important functions because it establishes an episode and defines "what kind of transformation is to be made of the materials within the episode" (1974, p.255). Consider the following examples in English conversation:

(1) (Begin a lecture in front of audience)
Well . . . today, I am going to talk about Japanese society.

(2)[1] (Explain directions to the train station to a stranger)
Oh, the central station? Well now, let me think . . . it's, just a moment, yes I think it's . . .um. . .yes, I know . . . it's er. . . it's the second street on the left . . . yes, that's it.

In (1), the speaker uses *well* in the initial position of his utterance, which indicates that the discourse marker serves to show his cognitive process of producing the utterance as well as to draw the listeners' attention. When discourse markers are used in the initial position, they also reduce the abrupt impression of the speech to the listener (Mohan). In (2), the speaker can provide the information without discourse markers as: "The central station? It is the second street on the left past the town hall." With the discourse markers *oh, well now, let me think, um*, and *er*, the speaker shows his mental processes of producing utterances and his intention to continues the turn in spite of brief pauses. While utterances can occur without discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987), the speaker's intention may slightly change, depending on whether or not he uses them.

As explained earlier, the speaker's use of discourse markers is indicative of functions of his social and mental processes. In this view, these discourse markers have multiple functions and allow the speaker to show his mental processes in an appropriate manner:

> There is room within the tonus of a conversation for much private thought. We form

[1] This is an invented example taken from Mohan (1979).

> overall judgements, plan provisional responses, rank and revise them, store questions, foresee the need for further conversations, and so on, and routinely do these things while someone else is talking, or while we ourselves hold the turn (Schourup, 1983, p.3).

Although the speaker does not say all of what he has in mind, his thoughts may be transferred with different forms of discourse markers that help him express mental contents more than what he expresses with meaningful forms. As defined by Schourup, the speaker's mind is involved in various mental activities. He may work on understanding what he heard and raise a question spontaneously while discourse markers occur. Consequently, this process will allow the speaker to convey his thoughts indirectly.

2.2 DISCOURSE MARKERS IN JAPANESE

In several studies, Japanese discourse markers have been noted as playing a role in increasing the politeness of utterances. Japanese discourse markers have syntactic variations like English; for example, *ano*, *sono*, *eeto*, *unto*, *nanka*, *tsumari*, *jitsuwa*, *sonodesunee*, and *nante iimasuka* are employed in different positions of utterances. They are also considered as hesitation fillers or gap-fillers. Number (3) shows how discourse markers can function as hesitation fillers.

(3) (Explain the reason for not coming)
Jitsuwa . . . sonoo . . . hoka no yakusoku ga attan desu yo.
Jitsuwa . . . sonoo . . . I had another appointment.

In (3), the speaker displays his hesitancy to avoid the abrupt impression of his utterance explaining why he did not come. Using these discourse markers in the beginning of the utterance the speaker's hesitancy toward his speech is focused upon, and therefore, the listener is able to perceive that the speaker attempts to produce utterances but does not know how to express them.

Sadanobu and Takubo (1995) investigated discourse markers *eeto* and *ano* with respect to the speaker's mental processes while producing utterances. According to them, *ano* functions to extract the speaker's linguistic information from the mental database where various information is stored, and data is searched, or calculations are conducted, if necessary. In contrast, *eeto* shows that the speaker is temporarily working on producing utterances in the mental database. Sadanobu and Takubo's findings suggested that discourse markers are not always interchangeable in the context and reflect the speaker's thoughts while he is speaking. In the following examples, a discourse marker with a double question mark indicates the inappropriate use, and an utterance with an asterisk is considered impolite:

(4) A: Kono eiga no kantoku tte dare dakke?
Who is the director of this movie?
B: Anoo/Ecto, Kitano Takeshi.
Anoo Eeto, that's Kitano Takeshi.

(5) A: Ni kakeru go wa?

Two times five?

B: Eeto/??Ano, jyuu.
Eeto, it's ten.

(6)[2] a. Anoo, mado o akete morae masu ka?
Anoo, would you please open the window?

b. * Mado o akete morae masu ka?
Would you please open the window?

c. * Eeto, mado o akete morae masu ka?
Eeto, would you please open the window?

Example (4) shows that both *anoo* and *eeto* are used situationally appropriate. The speaker's use of *anoo* implies his mental process of extracting the linguistic information from his database, assuming that the name of the movie director has already been stored in the speaker's knowledge. Using *eeto*, the speaker shows his mental process of searching for the name of a movie director rather than finding the name of the movie director himself. Example (5) displays the appropriate use of *eeto* in the context because the speaker is not extracting linguistic information, and the answer for the multiplication is not stored in the speaker's resource. Therefore, the discourse marker *anoo* is not situationally appropriate. *Eeto* is appropriate for the reason that the speaker is not looking for the information that is not stored but producing an answer after calculation. In (6a), the speaker reduces the abruptness of the speech by using *anoo* and shows his consideration of the style of speech he is engaged to make a request. In considering the function of *ano* as indicative of extracting linguistic information from the mental database, the speaker uses the discourse marker appropriately, and in this view, this expression to make a request is polite. In (6b), the request made by the speaker sounds too blunt to give a polite impression to the listener. Therefore, this request is viewed as impolite and situationally inappropriate. In (6c), *eeto* is not used appropriately and politely since the speaker is not temporarily working on producing an utterance in the context, and in this way, it is unlikely that *eeto* occurs when the speaker makes a request. As we have discussed previously, Sadanobu and Takubo's study have provided us examples to explain about the speaker's mental processes when the speaker uses discourse markers *anoo* and *eeto* in various contexts.

The frequent use of discourse markers indicates the listener's involvement in conversation along with the speaker. Cook (1993) examined the discourse marker *ano* using naturally occurring conversation data and compared its social functions with the sentence final particle *ne*. As one of the features appeared in her data, Cook has shown that the discourse marker *ano* and *ne* have a similar function because both markers index the interpersonal rapport between interlocutors. Cook concluded that *ano* elicits the common ground between the speaker and the listener, and this redresses Brown and Levinson's (1981) face-threatening act, through which the speaker interrupts the listener's "freedom of action," with orders, requests, or suggestions.

As I have explained earlier, discourse markers function in various ways, and it is likely that there are more functions in Japanese than in English since the speaker attempts to achieve a

[2] These are Sadanobu and Takubo's examples.

mutual understanding of the conversation with the listener. Table 1 displays a summary of functions of discourse markers in Japanese conversation:

Table 1: Functions of discourse markers in Japanese

Cook (1993) All functions are for *ano*

- align a speaker and a listener in face-to-face interaction
- start a conversation or a new turn
- get the attention of the listener
- highlight a proposition that immediately follows
- start a new topic
- disagree with others

Koide (1983)

- increase the politeness of one's speech
- avoid silence that may give the listener mental pressure
- show a speaker's intention to keep the floor and continue one's turn
- show a speaker's hesitancy

Maynard (1989)

- make utterances softer and less impactful
- avoid silence and carry on the verbal interaction (socially motivated fillers)
- show hesitancy and uncertainty
- interrupt the speech cognitively or productively (language production based fillers)
- achieve the effect of socially packaging his/her speech

Sadanobu and Takubo (1995)

- make the listener project what follows
- continue the interface with the listener
- *eeto*: temporarily work on producing utterances in the mental database
- *ano*: avoid the abrupt and impertinent impressions of the speech
- *ano:* extract linguistic information from the mental database, where various information are stored, data are searched, and calculations are conducted

Ano has been examined in various contexts where it occurs as a discourse marker, and yet, researchers have not provided us with a better understanding of its sister discourse marker *sono*. To provide a coherent explanation of how discourse markers are used in conversation, I will analyze these linguistic devices in various contexts. In what follows, I will explore written discourse in which discourse markers *sono*, *ano*, occur individually or together.

3. ANALYSIS

To investigate uses of discourse markers *ano* and *sono* in conversation, three volumes of fictional stories and one volume of a non-fictional story were examined. Obviously, conversation in written discourse does not represent natural speech, and what I refer to as utterance in this study is the kind that is created or reproduced by the characters in it. For observation, stories offer theoretically natural data to discuss the discourse markers, since they are reproduced as naturally occurring conversations.

3.1 USES OF *ANO* IN DISCOURSE

In the data I analyzed, there are cases where the discourse marker *ano* is used for a variety of purposes. A speaker produces *ano* before producing utterances and beginning a conversation, where the alignment between the speaker and the listener is established.

Consider Segment 1. The discourse marker *ano* is used with the sentence final particle *ne* to get a listener's attention and start a conversation (Cook, 1993). In line 2, Chiaki is talking about her future plan to her boss Heizo while he is drinking. Chiaki and Heizo seem attracted to each other:

Segment 1:

1 *Sarani kanai zenbu ni ki o tukatte, junkatsuyu ni natte kurete iru yoona, kokoro kiita Chiaki ga oranaku naruto sureba, Heizoo wa nakitai omoi da.*

Heizo would cry if Chiaki, who is considerate to the employees and helps to reduce friction, left the company. Heizo should not think about it, when he is drinking and feeling weak-spirited.

2 *"Ano ne, atashi wa, moshi, hokano kaisha e kawattara, apaato demo betsuni karite ie mo deyoo ka na, nante omou n desu..."*

"Ano ne, I am thinking about moving out and looking for an apartment, if I changed my job."

3 *Chiaki wa sake o heizo ni tsuide kurete, sonna koto o iu.*

Chiaki said such a thing while serving a drink to Heizo.

(Tanabe 1979:339)

The initial *ano* with the sentence final particle *ne* can simply work as an attention-getter, through which Chiaki reveals her plan to Heizo who may not want her to carry it out. Additionally, when *ano* occurs in the beginning of the utterance, the abruptness of the utterance may be reduced. In this way, the speaker is able to initiate the listener's involvement with the conversation using *ano* and *ne*, even though the listener participates in the conversation without any comment in this context.

The speaker also uses *ano* with elongation before he talks about the topic, which may be difficult to introduce. Consider Segment 2. Professor T is using *ano* before he asks for a washbasin to Mr. Ishimatsu for his hemorrhoids treatment:

Segment 2:

1 *"Nan desu ka, T-sensei, mizukusai. Sonna toki no tame no watashi de wa arimasen ka. Ittai doo nasareta no desu ka?"*

"What is it? You seem so formal, Prof T. That's what I'm here for. What's wrong with you?"

2 *Soo ii nagara mo watashi wa kokoro no soko de wa mushimushi, mushimushi to omotte iru no desu kara doo shiyoo mo arimasen.*

While I was saying this, I could not bear feeling so frustrated.

3 *"Anoo, otaku ni senmenki wa naide shoo ka. Attara chotto kashite itadaki tai no desu ga."*

"Anoo, do you have a washbasin? If so, could I borrow it?"

4 *"Senmenki! Senmenki nante nai desu nee, amerika jaa sonna mono tsukaimasen shi ne. Onabe nara arimasu keredo, dame desu ka? Demo, ittai doo nasareta no desu ka?"*

"A washbasin? I don't have a washbasin. We don't use such a thing in America. I have a pot, though. Doesn't it work? What's wrong with you, by the way?"

5 *"Jitsuwa,Ishimatsu-san, biroona hanashi na no desu ga, watakushi ji na n desu."*

"To tell you the truth, Mr. Ishimatsu, it is not a nice think to mention, but I have been suffering from hemorrhoids."

(Ishimatsu 1991:111)

In line 3, Prof T's use of *ano* with an elongation suggests that he intends to continue his utterance but hesitates to explain his embarrassing experience. In line 5, Prof T finally reveals to Mr. Ishimatsu that he suffers from hemorrhoids, very hesitantly. Using *ano*, the abruptness of the utterance is reduced so that the speaker can gradually introduce the topic that may be embarrassing to him. Borrowing a washbasin itself is not humiliating at all; but it seems more embarrassing to confess Prof T's medical problem to Mr. Ishimatsu in line 5. In this view, the discourse marker allows the speaker to moderate the introduction of the topic that he finds difficult to explain.

Consider Segment 3. Matakichi is talking by phone about the owner of a sport fishing store. The owner has not agreed to become a witness of the accident in which the speaker and the listener have been involved. The speaker uses the *ano* before the conversation to reduce the abrupt impression of his speech:

Segment 3:

1 *Suujitsu shite, yatto Matakichi-san kara denwa ga atta.*

A few days later, (I) finally received a call from Matakichi.

2 *"Ano, tsuridoogu-ya ni ittan desu keredo, shoonin ni wa natte kurenai n desu"*

(Matakichi said,) "Ano, I went to the sport fishing store, but he does not want to become a witness."

3 *Tayorinai koe da.*

(His) voice sounds dissatisfied.

(Ishimatsu 1991:73)

In line 2, the use of *ano* is indicative of the speaker's consideration to the listener since he is talking about an event Matakichi and the listener did not expect. The speaker attempts to reduce a blunt impression of the utterance that may disappoint the listener. While Matakichi does not directly disagree with the listener, he talks about what is anticipated. In this view, we can explain that "when the speaker disagrees with the addressee, such a usage of *ano* simultaneously serves as a positive politeness strategy" (Cook, 1993, pp.24-25). Thus, *ano* helps the speaker to mitigate the face-threatening act of disagreeing with the listener and to perform to preserve cooperation.

As earlier examined, the discourse marker *ano* refers to the utterance that follows immediately, and from this point of view, it is defined as a cataphoric marker. The focus of the discourse appears after *ano*, not beforehand. Utterances that come after *ano* are emphasized. In this way, the speaker can draw the listener's attention to the topic. If the discourse marker *ano* is a cataphoric marker, this can explain why it frequently occurs at the beginning of utterances.

3.2 USES OF *SONO* IN DISCOURSE

The discourse marker *sono* has different functions from the discourse marker *ano*. In my data, *sono* is used before the speaker hesitantly comments on what the listener has already known, and he avoids repeating the utterance the listener might know.

In Segment 4, Mr. Fukuda and other employees peeped into the female guests' room during the trip, and this has been revealed to their boss Mr. Shibaoka. Fukuda uses the discourse marker *sono*, assuming that Mr. Shibaoka already knows what Mr. Fukuda wants to imply:

Segment 4:

1 *Mattaku, (maido no koto de aru ga) wakai mono no yancha buri ni wa tekozura sareru. Shibaraku shite futari ga, Fukuda o tsurete kaette kita.*

Really, the young employees give me a lot of trouble. After a while, two employees came back with Mr. Fukuda.

2 *"Donai shiten, omae ga genkyoo ka"*

(Mr. Shibaoka said,) "Did you do something wrong? Are you a rascal?"

3 *"Iya, sono . . . . soo warui koto shite mahen."*

"No, sono . . . . I haven't done such a bad thing."

4 *Fukuda mo yoi no mawatta kao o shite ita. Kerori to shite iru no de, katawara kara Yoshitani ga,*

Mr. Fukuda looked like he was getting drunk, too. Since (Mr. Fukuda) acted as if nothing had happened, Mr. Yoshitani, standing by, said,

5 *"Rinshitsu ga onna no ko bakkari no guruupu na n de, koitsura, teeburu ya isu tsunde, rinkan kara nozoite itotta n desu naa."*

"They were peeping into the next room, piling up the table and chairs, since there were only female guests in it."

6 *Bakana yatsura me.*

How stupid they were, (Mr. Shibaoka thought).

(Tanabe 1979:172)

In line 3, using *iya* 'no,' Mr. Fukuda's attitude seems ambiguous, and he does neither agree nor disagree with Mr. Shibaoka's question in line 2. However, Mr. Fukuda obviously cannnot respond to it since he may not overlook what he has done, which does not seem completely bad. Mr. Fukuda's use of the discourse marker *sono* functions as indicative of referring to the previous utterance that may be already understood by Mr. Shibaoka. Discourse markers commonly occur to show the speaker's hesitancy (Maynard 1989; Koide 1983; Mohan 1979), and similarly, *ano* and *sono* are used to express his hesitancy. But what differentiates them is that, while the discourse marker *sono* occurs after the speaker comments on what has already been shared with the listener, *ano* occurs before the speaker provides new information.

Also, *sono* occurs before a speaker says an additional comment on what the listener said, as we see in the following example. The discourse marker *sono* functions to refer to the previous utterance and show that the following utterance is related to the previous one. In Segment 5, Akiko is talking with her friend Noriko about her boyfriend:

Segment 5:

1 *"[...]Soodan tte, tsumari, puropoozu sareta wake?" to Tange Noriko wa itta.*

"[...] What you want to say is, in a word, that you were proposed to?" Tange Noriko asked (Akiko).

2 *"Ee, puropoozu wa muron, sareta keredomo, sono, tsumari . . . nan te iu ka"*

(Akiko said,) "Yes, of course, I was proposed to, but, sono, in short . . . (I do not know) what to say."

3 *Akiko wa hito ichibai hazukarigarina no ka, soretomo, mikeiken no hai-misu to iu no wa, wakai musume yori shuuchishin ga tsuyoi no ka, dooshitemo ware kara kuchi ni noboserare nai no de aru.*

Akiko cannot explain to Noriko, because Akiko might be more shy than other people, or this sexually inexperienced lady might have a stronger sense of shame than younger adults.

4 *Akiko wa utsukushii kubi made, makka ni shite ita.*

Even Akiko's beautiful neck became red.

5 *"Hahan, wakatta, tsumari neyoo, tte sasowareteru wake . . ."*

(Noriko said,) "Well, I knew it; in short, you have been asked to sleep . . ."

(Tanabe 1978:52-53)

In line 2, *sono* serves to share the previous utterance by both interlocutors. Noriko has already known what Akiko wants to say, and in this way, *sono* occurs before the speaker is referring to the utterance that has been already discussed with the listener. Unlike the discourse marker *ano* that is used before the utterance, *sono* is used before the speaker adds a comment on what the listener has already known. In fact, Akiko does not answer Noriko's question in line 1, but in line 5, Noriko answers it herself. The speaker agrees with Noriko's question, and it seems that Akiko wants to say more. This suggests that *sono* is used after the speaker has shared her thoughts beforehand with the listener, and she wants to make more comments that may be difficult to explain.

Unlike *ano* that is used as a cataphoric marker, the discourse marker *sono* occurs on the assumption that the topic of the conversation may have been already shared by interlocutors, and the speaker needs to hesitantly add comments on it. In this view, *sono* is viewed as the anaphoric marker when used as a discourse marker. Thus, the focus of the utterance lies in the utterance produced before the discourse marker. Also, the frequent use of the discourse marker *sono* may explain why the speaker does not repeat the same utterance, replacing with the discourse marker.

3.3 USES OF *SONO* AND *ANO* IN DISCOURSE

Previously I have shown the data, through which the speaker uses either *ano* or *sono* in the conversation. The speaker often uses *ano* before producing the utterance that has not successfully completed, and subsequently *sono* is used to refer to what has been implied after the discourse marker *ano*, and then, the speaker believes that the listener has understood.

In the following segment, Mr. Urai is asked by his wife to share his bed with her, although he does not want to do it:

Segment 6:

1 *"Kedo, washi wa . . ."*

"But, I . . ." (said Mr. Urai.)

2 *"Soko ga hassoo no tenkan yo, sore ga daini no jinsei yanka, daburu beddo nante, wakai toki mo tsukawana n da wa, ippen yatte mitakatta n da, omochiro."*

"You have to change your way of thinking. That's what the Golden Age is. I never used a double bed when I was young. I wanted to use it once. I thought tt would be interesting" (said his wife).

3 *"Ano na, ..."*

"Ano na . . ."

4 *"Wakatteru wa, kata ga samui,tte iu n de sho, fuyu ja nai shi, daijoobu yo, kaze nanka hikanai tte."*

"I know that you think your shoulder will get cold. It will be all right, because it is not winter now. You won't get cold, you know."

5 *"Iya . . . ."*

"No . . ."

6 *"A, semakutte kata ga koru, tte iu no, atashi chiisai kara jama ni naranai, naranai, huhahaha, daburu beddo da zoo."*

"Oh, you think that you will have a stiff shoulder because you have less space. I won't disturb you, because I am small. Ha-ha, you know, it is a double bed."

7 *"Mumu, sono . . . . ."*

"Mmm, sono . . ."

8 *"Iya da, hanikande ru, wahaha, iyoiyo omochiroi. Waai, otoosan to daburu beddo ni neru n da, n da, n da, zama miro."*

"Well, you seem shy. Ha-ha, it is going to be more comical. Wow, I am going to sleep with you in the double bed, so there!"

(Tanabe 1998:164-165)

Mr. Urai shows his unwillingness to sleep with his wife. In line 3, Mr. Urai's use of the discourse marker *ano* with the sentence final particle to express interjection *na* indicates that Mr.

Urai is beginning a new turn in the conversation, which is an unsuccessful attempt and is interrupted by her. While Mr. Urai attempts to explain to her, saying *iya*, in line 5, he cannot complete his utterance. He seems to be afraid to hurt her feeling by saying that he does not want to sleep with her, because she seems excited to sleep together. After listening to her explanation in lines 2, 4, and 8, Mr. Urai uses the discourse marker *sono* to indicate that he expects her to understand how he feels about sleeping with her in his bed without fully explaining to her. From Mr. Urai's utterance in line 1, it is clear that he does not want to sleep with his wife. By using *anona* in line 3, the speaker avoids the bluntness of his turn to explain why he does not want to share a bed, in order to consider the listener's feeling. *Ano* functions to disagree with the listener in this context, since Mr. Urai does not seem to agree with her about sharing his bed. The use of *sono* in line 7 suggests that what she understands what Mr. Urai implies in his utterances in lines 3 and 5, since he may not need to explain the reason to her. This also suggests that the referent that the speaker points to may be identical, because he attempts to tell the listener something important after *ano* and before *sono*, even though it is not clearly described in the context.

Ano occurs before the speaker begins to produce an important utterance, and he uses *sono* after briefly explaining to the listener, highlighting the utterance that follows immediately. Consider Segment 7. Mr. Aoi is revealing his secret to his female co-worker Ms. Asahara that he has loved her since she began to work at the company, and this surprises her:

Segment 7:

1 *"Boku wa, ano . . . . . "*

(Mr. Aoi said,) "I, ano . . . "

2 *Aoi no goi wa itsumo " . . . " ga tsuku tokoro ni tokuchoo ga aru.*
Kokoro bosoi ga yuu o furu tte iu, to iu kanji de,

Aoi's (sentence) ending is always characterized as ". . . " (It is) as if he feels helpless but picks up his courage.

3 *"Asahara-san ga, eigyoo ni itte kara zuutto shitte mashi ten . . . "*

(Mr. Aoi continued,) "I have known you, Asahara-san since (you) came to the sales department."

4 *"Ee, datte atashi, nyuusha irai, eigyoo da yo"*

(Ms. Asahara said,) "Oh, because I have been in the sales department since (I) entered the company."

5 *"Tsumari sono . . . " to madarukkoshii.*

"In short, sono . . . " (Mr. Aoi) said slowly.

6 *"Nyuusha irai, Asahara-san no koto kanshin arimashite . . . "*

(He continued,) "(I) have been interested in you, Asahara-san, since (you) entered the company."

(Tanabe 1998:97-98)

In line 1, while Mr. Aoi prepares to reveal his feeling to Ms. Asahara, he cannot complete his utterance because he hesitates to say something to her. It is likely that the discourse marker *ano* shows that the speaker tells something important to the listener. In this view, it helps Mr. Aoi shift Ms. Asahara's attention to his next utterance. Additionally, *ano* serves to avoid the speaker's abrupt impression to the listener and expresses his considerate attitude toward the listener (Sadanobu and Takubo, 1995). In line 5, Mr. Aoi attempts to sum up his speech by saying *tsumari* "in short," and he shows his hesitancy to continue the next utterance, using *sono* with elongation. In this way, *sono* partially serves to show the speaker's continuing turn in this context. What is important is that Mr. Aoi refers to the utterances mentioned in lines 3 and 4, through which Mr. Aoi tells to her that he has known her for a long period. While the speaker's attempt has been slightly achieved after the utterance in line 3, he wants to add his comment on what she has said in line 4. Through this data, the discourse marker *ano* occurs before the speaker begins to produce the important utterance, and then he uses *sono* after briefly explaining to the listener and highlighting the utterance that follows immediately.

We see that discourse markers *ano* and *sono* appear respectively; the speaker first uses the discourse marker *ano*, and afterwards *sono* is used in utterances. The speaker attempts to talk to the listener after using *ano*, but for some reason, the utterance cannot be completed. For these reasons, the speaker refers to utterances that are understood by interlocutors using *sono*, whereas he employs *ano* to produce the utterance but unsatisfactorily completes it.

4. DISCOURSE MARKERS ANO AND SONO IN CONVERSATION

I have suggested that *ano* is a cataphoric marker, and *sono* is an anaphoric marker when these are used as discourse markers, and from this point of view, these discourse markers cannot be interchangeable. *Ano* indexes what follows immediately in the utterance, which implies that the speaker uses it before producing the utterance. In my data, the types of utterance that follows are different, and it is considered that the speaker mitigates the utterance that implies the face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson, 1983). In this view, as Goffman (1974) points out, it is important for the speaker to use discourse markers in the initial position of the utterance before producing the utterance.

The discourse marker *sono* may point to what has been mentioned in the context and play a role as an anaphoric marker. Using *sono*, the speaker makes a referent to what has been already described, and he comments on it additionally. As one of the characteristics of the discourse marker *sono*, the speaker does not clearly indicate what has been referred to in the context. Nevertheless, the speaker continues utterances, assuming that the topic may have been already discussed with the listener. Unlike the discourse marker *ano*, *sono* commonly occurs before the speaker hesitantly explains to the listener. Also, using *sono*, utterances that might be unnecessary are left out by the speaker, while *ano* requires the following utterance and does not function without it. In Japanese, both *ano* and *sono* serve as discourse markers. However, the two words function differently in conversation, and the positions in which they occur are also varied. Because of this, the speaker cannot interchange these discourse markers.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have shown that discourse markers *sono* and *ano* have played an important role in conversation where the speaker and the listener meet certain social expectations in Japanese. Using the cataphoric marker *ano*, the speaker produces the utterance that may interrupt the listener but efficiently avoids making the listener feel interrupted. In this way, the speaker is able to draw the listener's cooperation in the conversation. On the other hand, the anaphoric marker *sono* is one of the linguistic devices by which the speaker does not directly produce the point of the utterance, but throws out a clue that the listener may know. For this reason, the Japanese speaker may expect that the topic of the conversation has been shared by both interlocutors, and the listener has been considered part of a previous or ongoing conversation.

Since the data analyzed in this paper were only from fictional and non-fictional stories, the occurrence of the discourse markers have been in certain contexts. However, my data show that we cannot use these discourse markers comparably because of their functions and positions in the utterance, just as demonstrative adjectives *ano* and *sono* are used in different purposes. In this study, it was impossible to see the correlation of functions between these discourse markers and the demonstrative adjectives. For further research, the data that occurs in a naturally occurring conversation may be collected and examined for the use and function of discourse markers. Moreover, it is possible to speculate that native speakers of Japanese have some prototypical co-occurring contextual features with respect to *ano* and *sono* as discourse markers. Since it is difficult for many second/foreign language learners of Japanese to use discourse markers appropriately, it might be meaningful for them to better understand the correct usage of discourse markers in order to communicate successfully with native speakers of Japanese.

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TEXTS

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